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Universiteit Utrecht



# Thirty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall

The Cold War and its repercussions today



Utrecht University  
9 November 2019

## Organising Team

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**The Cold War Research Network** is organised by three Dutch Universities: Utrecht University (Laurien Crump), the University of Amsterdam (Ruud van Dijk), and Leiden University (Giles Scott-Smith), to bring together researchers and students who are interested in the latest approaches to Cold War history and its place in 20th century international history.

## CONFERENCE LOCATION

Academy Hall  
Domplein 29  
3512 JE Utrecht  
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**09 November 2019**

**10:00-11:00 Coffee and Tea**

**11:00-13:00 Plenary session with three keynotes and a panel discussion**

- 11:00-11:30 *Thirty years later* - Federico Romero (Professor of History of Post-War European Cooperation and Integration, European University Institute, Florence).
- 11:30 – 12:00 *Individuals, institutions, and ideas: (post) Cold War European cooperation and security* – Marina Pérez de Arcos (Research Fellow at the Rothermere American Institute, Oxford).
- 12:00-12:30 *The end of the Cold War from Gorbachev's perspective* - Sergey Radchenko (Professor of International Relations, University of Cardiff).
- 12:30-13:00 Panel Discussion

**13:00-13:45 Lunch**

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**09 November 2019**

**13:45-15:00 Choice of interactive workshops (active participation by the audience)**

- *The Middle Eastern Question then and now*  
(Lorena de Vita, Utrecht University)
- *Berlin in Film: From Cold War to Post-Cold War*  
(Giles Scott-Smith, Leiden University)
- *European Security and Relations with Russia (CSCE-OSCE)*  
(Laurien Crump, Utrecht University)
- *Iconic Photographs in the (New) Cold War*  
(Rutger van der Hoeven, Utrecht University)
- *Energy in the Changing Cold War Landscape*  
(Marloes Beers, Utrecht University).

**15:15-16:30 Eye-witness seminar with diplomats and journalists**  
**(Chaired by Ruud van Dijk)**

**16:30-17:00 Closure with Concluding Remarks**

**17:00-18:00 Drinks**

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## Short biographies of participants

As a Dutch diplomat, **Barend ter Haar** took part in negotiations on inter alia disarmament and arms control, bio-ethics, child care, human rights, natural conservation and cultural heritage. He taught history at Leiden and diplomacy at Georgetown University. His publications include *Peace or Human rights: The dilemma of humanitarian intervention* (2000), *Why Brexit Might Not Take Place* (2017), and *The best of times or the worst of times?* (2019). He contributes to *Diplomat Magazine* and is on the board of the *University for Peace Centre, The Hague*.

**Federico Romero** is Professor of History of Post-War European Cooperation and Integration as well as Dean of Research at the European University Institute in Florence. A specialist on 20<sup>th</sup> century international and transnational history - in particular Cold War history and the history of European integration - he is the coordinator of the ERC project PANEUR1970S.

**Gillet Scott-Smith** holds the Roosevelt Chair in New Diplomatic History at the University of Leiden. He has published widely on Cold War history, with a special interest on transatlantic relations.

**Henri Beunders** is Professor of Developments in Public Opinion at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam. Previously he was a journalist at the *NRC Handelsblad* (1984-1990), where he was, *inter alia*, a reporter in East Berlin (1989-1990). After his career as a journalist, Beunders held various positions, *inter alia*, at Clingendael, as Director of Postgraduate Education in Journalism and the Scientific Council for Government Policy. For more information about the career of Prof. Dr. Henri Beunders and his publications, see: [www.henribeunders.com](http://www.henribeunders.com).

**Laurien Crump** is Associate Professor in Contemporary European History at Utrecht University. She has published widely on multilateral relations in the Cold War on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Her monograph *The Warsaw Pact Reconsidered: International Relations in Eastern Europe, 1955-69* (Routledge, 2015) was awarded the international George Blazycha prize.

**Lorena De Vita** is an Assistant Professor in the History of International Relations at Utrecht University and Co-coordinator of the MA in International Relations in Historical Perspective. An award-winning teacher and researcher, in her research she focuses on the international history of the Cold War, on the international politics of the Arab/Israeli conflict, and on post-1945 European history. Dr. De Vita held Research Fellowships at the Friedrich-Schiller-University, Jena (DAAD), at the Memorial House of the Wannsee Conference, Berlin (Joseph Wulf Fellowship) and at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (Foreign Ministry Postdoctoral Fellowship). Her publications featured in both academic outlets, such as *Cold War History* and *International Affairs*, and popular media, such as *The Washington Post*.

**Maarten Huygen (1953)** studied law and philosophy in Groningen and international relations at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Bologna. He started in journalism in 1978 as a correspondent in Italy. He spent 10 years as a news correspondent in the US, from 1979 – 1984 for the Dutch networks KRO and Vara, Haagse Post, several newspapers in Belgium and the Netherlands and from 1990 – 1995 for NRC Handelsblad. For NRC he was a reporter, columnist, editorial writer and bureau chief of the editorial page. Presently he is writing a book about what remains of the male gender.

**Marina Pérez de Arcos** is *inter alia* Research Fellow at the Rothermere American Institute, Oxford. She teaches International Relations at Oxford, and International History and European Integration at the London School of Economics. She has held Visiting Fellowships at Humboldt University of Berlin, Nova University in Lisbon, Sciences Po-Paris and Stanford. She has worked at the Town Hall of Le Vésinet, Paris;



the Club of Madrid, the largest forum of former democratic presidents and prime ministers; and as G20 advisor at the Spanish Presidency, where she led Spain's G20 sherpa team. She has also served as an advisor to the Foreign Office on the UK's relations within Europe-Europe Directorate. She read History and Economics, and has an MPhil and DPhil in IR from Oxford.

**Marloes Beers** is Assistant Professor at the section of History of International Relations at Utrecht University. Her research focuses on European energy cooperation in a global context and on European identity. Her main publications concern energy cooperation in Europe, the history of Dutch gas policy and the creation of the International Energy Agency.

**Rutger van der Hoeven** is a historian at Utrecht University and foreign editor of the weekly magazine, *De Groene Amsterdammer*. This year he received his PhD thesis *The Global Visual Memory: A Study of the Recognition and Interpretation of Iconic and Historical Photographs*.

**Ruud van Dijk** studied history at the Universities of Amsterdam and Kansas, and obtained his PhD at Ohio University in 1999. He has taught at Carnegie Mellon University, Dickinson College, and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, and has been a University Teacher of Globalisation History and International Relations at the University of Amsterdam since 2008. He is the Senior Editor of the Encyclopedia of the Cold War (Routledge, 2008), and General Editor of a digital edition, under contract with Routledge. He is co-organizer of the Cold War Research Network in the Netherlands, and of the Working Group on History and International Politics.

**Sergey Radchenko** is Professor of International Politics and Director of Research at the School of Law and Politics, Cardiff University. He authored a number of books on the history of the Cold War, among them, *Two Suns in the Heavens: the Sino-Soviet Struggle for Supremacy* (Wilson Centre Press & Stanford UP, 2009); *Unwanted Visionaries* (Oxford UP, 2014), and, mostly recently, *The First Fiddle: a History of the Cold War and After* (forthcoming with Cambridge UP in 2020).



## Abstracts Workshops and Lectures

### Lectures (11:00-13:00 - English)

#### 1989 – Thirty years later (Federico Romero)

This talk is focused on a historical assessment of the world 1989 made. It revisits the expectations nurtured after 1989, and the ensuing choices made by key actors in Europe and the West, in order to explore the dynamics unleashed by those decisions and, in particular, their unintended consequences. It will consider the deeper trends revealed by the transformative energy that 1989 set in motion, and discuss the paradoxical poverty of conceptual tools and policy options that post-1989 misguided articles of faith consigned to us.

#### Individuals, institutions, and ideas: (Post) Cold War European cooperation and security (Marina Pérez De Arcos)

What's new about the end of the Cold War? Has everything already been said? "The only foreign leader who immediately backed the German position was US president George H. W. Bush" or so the narrative goes. However, recently declassified archival material and underused sources show that a handful of European leaders were at the forefront of foreign leaders who immediately backed 'the German position'. European individuals mattered. Likewise, recently published research has dispelled the 'legend' of British opposition to German unification by reducing the role played by Thatcher and raising the profile of the Foreign Office, a case that highlights the importance of institutions. Equally, the orthodox depiction of 'a new world order' runs counter to the relaunch of European integration and NATO enlargement already in the second-half of the 1980s, ideas which significantly affected (post) Cold War European cooperation and security, albeit at a time of great uncertainty. This talk will use new papers and new perspectives to underline the links between individuals, institutions, and ideas and offer a more nuanced account of the end of the Cold War. Indeed, there is still a lot to be said about (post) Cold War cooperation and security.

#### The end of the Cold War from Gorbachev's Perspective (Sergey Radchenko)

This lecture explores the end of the Cold War from Gorbachev's perspective. The key question here is the rationale behind the Soviet leader's decision to pursue a foreign policy that differed so radically from that of his predecessors. The paper links Gorbachev's decision-making to the need for political legitimacy. Understanding the bankruptcy of Marxism-Leninism, Gorbachev sought to advance a new concept for foreign policy and, by doing so, to make a bid for global leadership. The paper focuses in particular on the Soviet-American disarmament dialogue and on the Soviet decision to withdraw troops from Afghanistan.

## Workshops (13:45-15:00)

### **Berlin in Film: From Cold War to Post-Cold War (Giles Scott-Smith - English)**

Berlin has provided the backdrop to several films made during and after the Cold War. This workshop will look at how images of the city has been used to convey different social and political messages. During the Cold War there was a focus on spying and intrigue, social despair and the wish to escape. Since 1989, the emphasis has been more on nostalgia and re-evaluating the past. The workshop will examine various examples, exploring the uses of the city to generate different narratives and atmospheres.

### **Energy in the changing Cold War Landscape (Marloes Beers - Dutch)**

This workshop focuses on the energy factor in late Cold War Europe. The construction of the trans-Siberian Urengoi gas pipeline stirred traditional international relations in 1981-1982: European political relations with the United States did get frosty while economic cooperation blossomed between European companies and Russian Gazprom. This situation would not only bring about a political transatlantic crisis, but would also accommodate an essential European position in this phase of the Cold War. During the workshop we will look into primary sources from a diversity of archives, such as those from the Dutch ministries of foreign affairs and economic affairs, the French president Francois Mitterrand and the British PM Margaret Thatcher.

### **European Security and Relations with Russia (Laurien Crump - Dutch)**

The last decade of the Cold War has conventionally been regarded through the perspective of the superpowers. This workshop, however, regards the last decade of the Cold War through the lens of international and diplomatic relations within Europe, redresses the often Western triumphalist balance in analysing the end of the Cold War, and charts the Cold War's unravelling in Europe from the early (rather than mid) 1980s onwards. It will also pay attention to the way in which the end of the Cold War in Europe led to an unfinished post-Cold War settlement and shapes European relations with Russia today.

### **Iconic Photographs in the (new) Cold War (Rutger van der Hoeven - Dutch)**

How strong the mobilizing power of photos can be was discovered by American and Russian photographers at Iwo Jima and the Reichstag. During the Cold War both sides tried to use that power to their advantage, but that proved to be more difficult and did not always turn out as expected. In the twenty-first century, a new kind of information struggle has arisen between Russia and Western countries, and once again images play a prominent role in this.

### **The Middle East Question then and Now (Lorena de Vita - English)**

The Middle East region features prominently in many of the key societal, political and ideological debates of our era. Today, Middle Eastern countries remain among the main recipients of weapons from Russia and the United States. The conflict in Israel/Palestine shows no sign of solution, the Syrian civil war descended into a complex proxy war among powerful regional and international actors, while Yemen is witnessing one of the worst humanitarian crises in the world. So what changed since 1989 and why? In this workshop, participants will be invited to unpack the main continuities and differences between the current regional developments and their Cold War antecedents, mapping the possible way forward for the countries of the region.



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### **Seminar with Eye-Witnesses (15:15-16:30 – Dutch)**

This seminar will be chaired by Ruud van Dijk, on behalf of the Working Group on History and International Politics (WHIP). The WHIP was established in 2017 with the main objective of bringing together all those who are professionally involved in Dutch foreign relations in order to strengthen mutual contacts and to deepen the knowledge of these relations. The group is an initiative of Ruud van Dijk and Rimko van der Maar (University of Amsterdam), Giles Scott-Smith (Leiden University), and Bert van der Zwan, coordinator of the Historical Unit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The WHIP is also developing an oral history project with (former) diplomats. This eyewitness seminar with (former) diplomats and journalists, who were active as such at the end of the Cold War, also aims to contribute to oral history.